855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [209] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[564] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

832 178 [881] [877] 877 892 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given special considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and attitudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls, and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization ('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth organization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth--probably with no great variation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community uplift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meetings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not interested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes, all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation